QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT

Letter dated 8 November 1961 from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics addressed to the President of the General Assembly

In connexion with the opening of the debate in the First Committee on the question of disarmament, I should be glad if you would distribute to all Members of the United Nations as an official document of the First Committee of the General Assembly the "Basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament", submitted on 23 September 1960 to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet delegation and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (A/4505).

(Signed) V. ZORIN
Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations
BASIC PROVISIONS OF A TREATY ON GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT:
PROPOSAL SUBMITTED ON 23 SEPTEMBER 1960 BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Governments of the States participating in negotiations on disarmament, being guided by the resolution of 20 November 1959 entitled "General and complete disarmament" adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fourteenth session, in the interests of saving mankind from the threat of a new war, and in the interests of securing lasting and inviolable peace on earth, recognize the need to proceed forthwith to the practical accomplishment of the task of general and complete disarmament, and have to this end resolved to draw up a treaty on general and complete disarmament, which will include the basic provisions set forth below.

I

General and complete disarmament entails:
The disbanding of all armed forces of States and the prohibition of their re-establishment in any form whatsoever;
The prohibition and destruction of all stockpiles, and the cessation of the manufacture, of all kinds of armaments, including atomic, hydrogen, chemical, biological and other types of weapons of mass destruction;
The destruction of all means of delivering weapons of mass destruction to their targets;
The liquidation of all kinds of military bases, and the withdrawal and disbanding of all foreign troops stationed in the territory of any State;
The abolition of any kind of military conscription for citizens;
The termination of universal military training and the closure of all military education institutions;
The abolition of war ministries, of general staffs and their local agencies, and of all other military and para-military establishments and organizations;
The discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes whether from State budgets or from public organizations or private individuals.

When general and complete disarmament has been achieved, States will have at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia), the
size of which will be agreed upon for each country and which will be equipped with light firearms, for maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens.

II

General and complete disarmament shall be carried out by the Contracting States over one and the same strictly defined period of time to be agreed upon, the process of disarmament being carried out gradually, in three consecutive stages, bearing in mind that at no stage shall any State gain military advantages over other States as a result of the course of disarmament.

To consider the question of the adherence of other States to the agreement on general and complete disarmament a conference will be convened with all countries participating.

III

All disarmament measures, from beginning to end, will be carried out under strict and effective international control, as follows:

(a) Immediately after the signing of the treaty a preparatory commission will be set up, with the task of taking practical steps to establish an international organization for the control of general and complete disarmament.

(b) The control organization will be set up within the framework of the United Nations the moment the treaty comes into force. It will comprise all States Parties to the treaty whose representatives will meet periodically at a conference to consider matters arising out of the implementation of effective control over disarmament. The conference will elect a control council, consisting of permanent and non-permanent members, which will have its own local organs. The control council will consist of representatives of socialist countries, of representatives of States now members of Western military and political alliances, and of representatives of neutral States. Except where otherwise especially agreed upon, decisions in the control council will be taken by a two-thirds majority of votes on substantive matters and by a simple majority of votes on procedural matters.

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(c) The control council will be responsible for the practical administration of the control system, will draw up instructions, and will in good time analyse and process the reports rendered to it. States will submit to the control council information about their armed forces and armaments.

(d) In all countries parties to the agreement the control organization will have its own staff, recruited internationally with due regard for the principle of equitable geographical distribution, and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty. The control organization will distribute its inspectors over the territory of States in such a way as to enable them to start discharging their functions the moment States initiate the implementation of disarmament measures. Each Party to the treaty will undertake to give the inspectors and inspection teams timely and unrestricted access within its territory to any place where disarmament measures subject to verification are being carried out or to any area in which on-the-spot inspection of such measures is to be made. To these ends, each Party to the treaty will, for the account of the control organization, make available to the staff of the control organization all means of transport needed for travel within its territory.

(e) The staff of the control organization will enjoy in the territory of each Party to the treaty such privileges and immunities as may be necessary for exercising independent and unrestricted control over the implementation of the disarmament treaty.

(f) International inspection teams will include experts in the type of units to be disbanded and the type of weapons to be destroyed.

(g) The inspectors will communicate with the control council through existing channels of communication, being given such privileges as will ensure the prompt delivery of reports and instructions.

(h) All the expenses of the international control organization will be met by the States Parties to the treaty. The scale of contributions of States will be laid down in the text of the treaty on general and complete disarmament.

The control organization shall at each stage have powers in conformity with the scope and nature of disarmament measures involved.

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The basic disarmament measures will be spread over the three stages of the programme of general and complete disarmament in the following way:

First stage

1. All means of delivering nuclear weapons will be eliminated from the armed forces of States; their manufacture will be discontinued and they will be destroyed. Such means include: strategic and tactical rockets, pilotless aircraft of all types, and all military aircraft capable of delivering nuclear weapons; surface warships that can be used as vehicles for nuclear weapons; submarines of all classes and types; all artillery systems, as well as other means, that can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons.

2. The armed forces of all States will be reduced to fixed levels, those of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics being reduced to a maximum level of 1.7 million men. Conventional weapons and munitions thus released are to be destroyed, and military equipment either destroyed or used for peaceful purposes. Military expenditures of States will be reduced correspondingly.

3. All troops will be withdrawn from foreign territories to within their own national frontiers. Foreign military bases and depots of all kinds, both those released after the withdrawal of troops and those kept in reserve, will be eliminated.

4. From the very beginning of the first stage and until the final destruction of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, the placing into orbit or stationing in outer space of any special devices, the leaving of their territorial waters by warships and the flying beyond the limits of their national territory by military aircraft capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction, will be prohibited.

5. The launching of rockets will be carried out exclusively for peaceful scientific purposes and in accordance with predetermined and mutually agreed criteria, and will be accompanied by agreed measures of verification, including inspection at the rocket-launching sites.

6. States having nuclear weapons at their disposal will undertake not to transfer such weapons, or to transmit information necessary for their manufacture,
to States which do not possess them. At the same time, States not possessing nuclear weapons will undertake to refrain from manufacturing them.

7. States will reduce their military expenditures correspondingly.

8. The following control measures will be carried out during the first stage:

On-site international control will be established over the destruction of rocket weapons, military aircraft, surface warships, submarines and other means which can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons.

International inspection teams will be dispatched to places where military bases are situated and troops stationed on foreign territories, in order to supervise the elimination of the said bases and the withdrawal of military personnel and troops to within their own national territories; control will also be established at airfields and ports, to ensure that they are not used for military purposes. At the same time, rocket-launching sites, with the exception of those maintained for peaceful scientific purposes, will be destroyed under the supervision of the international control organization.

The control organization will have the right to inspect without hindrance all enterprises, plants, factories and shipyards, previously engaged wholly or in part in the production of rockets, aircraft, surface warships, submarines and any other means of delivering nuclear weapons, in order to prevent the organization of clandestine production of armaments which can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons. By agreement, permanent control teams may be established at some plants and installations.

There will be on-site international control over the disbanding of troops and the destruction of armaments.

The duties of inspectors will include: supervision of precise and punctual compliance with decisions on the disbanding of military formations and units, elimination and destruction of the material of conventional armaments, military equipment and munitions; reporting to the control council and to the Government of the host country.

The control organization will have unhindered access to documents pertaining to the budgetary allocations of States for military purposes, including all relevant decisions of legislative and executive bodies of States.
International inspection teams dispatched by the control organization will have the right to carry out a thorough examination of rocket devices to be launched for peaceful scientific purposes, and to be present at their launching.

9. In the first stage, joint studies will be undertaken of the measures to be implemented in the second stage relating to the discontinuance of the manufacture of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and to the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons.

10. The first stage is to be completed within approximately one or one and a half years. The international control organization will review the results of the carrying out of the first-stage measures with a view to reporting on them to the States Parties to the treaty, as well as to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Second stage

1. There will be a complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, with the cessation of manufacture and the destruction of all stockpiles of such weapons.

2. Armed forces and armaments will be further reduced to levels to be agreed upon. Military expenditures of States will be reduced correspondingly.

3. The following control measures will be carried out during the second stage:

Representatives of the control organization will conduct the on-site inspection of the destruction of all existing stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. The control organization will have the right to inspect all enterprises which extract raw materials for atomic production or which produce or use fissionable materials or atomic energy. By agreement, permanent control teams may be established at some plants and installations.

On-site international control over the disbanding of troops and the destruction of armaments will be continued.
4. In the second stage joint studies will be undertaken of the following measures to be implemented in the third stage: (a) measures to ensure observance of the treaty on general and complete disarmament after the implementation of all the measures provided for by that treaty; (b) measures to maintain peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter under conditions of general and complete disarmament.

5. As in the case of the transition from the first to the second stage, the international control organization will review the results of the carrying out of the second-stage measures with a view to reporting them to the States Parties to the treaty, as well as to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

**Third Stage**

1. The abolition of the armed forces of all States will be completed. States will have at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia), the size of which will be agreed upon for each country, and which will be equipped with light firearms, for maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens.

2. All remaining types of conventional armaments and ammunition, whether held by the armed forces or in depots, will be destroyed, and military equipment will either be destroyed or be put to peaceful uses.

3. Military production at all factories will be terminated, including the manufacture of conventional armaments, with the exception of strictly limited production of light firearms intended for the use of the contingents of police (militia) retained by States after the end of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

4. War ministries, general staffs and all military and para-military establishments and organizations will be abolished. All military courses for reservists will be terminated. In accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, States will enact legislation prohibiting the military training of young persons and abolishing military service in all its forms.
5. The appropriation of funds for military purposes in any form, whether from State bodies, from private individuals or from public organizations, will be discontinued. The funds released as a result of the achievement of general and complete disarmament will be used to reduce or to do away entirely with taxes on the public, to subsidize the national economy and to furnish economic and technical assistance to the under-developed countries.

6. At the third stage, the following additional control measures will be introduced:

The international control organization will send inspectors to verify on the spot the abolition of war ministries, general staffs and all military and paramilitary establishments and organizations, and the termination of military training and all other forms of military activity.

Control will be established over the discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes.

The control organization may, where necessary, institute a system of aerial inspection and aerial photography over the territory of States.

7. After the programme of general and complete disarmament has been carried out, the control organization will be kept in being to maintain constant supervision over the implementation by States of the obligations they have assumed. The control council will have the right to send mobile inspection teams to any point or to any establishment in the territory of States. States will provide the control organization with information about the points at which the contingents of police (militia) are stationed, about their strength at every such point (area) and about any movements of substantial contingents of police (militia) near State frontiers. International inspection teams will carry out comprehensive control to ensure that the strength of the police (militia) and their armament are in conformity with the quota agreed upon for each country.

8. Other measures designed to ensure compliance with the treaty on complete disarmament will come into force.

9. Measures for preserving peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations will be put into effect. States will undertake, where necessary, to place at the disposal of the Security Council units from the contingents of the police (militia) remaining at their disposal.

As the implementation of the disarmament programme and the reduction of military expenditure of States proceeds, part of the funds thus released will be used to give economic assistance to under-developed countries.